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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20505



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25 October 1974

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| Dear Professor | |
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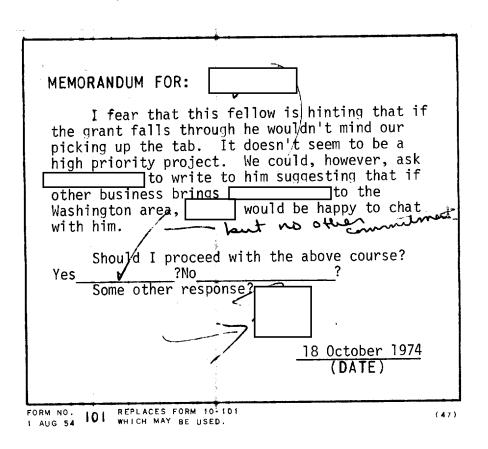
Mr. Colby has asked that I respond to your letter of 15 October, in which you describe a possible research project on the press in Eastern Europe.

It is possible that the work you propose would be of interest to us, but we cannot base such a judgment solely upon your brief description. We would be willing to hear more from you about it, but I would not want to raise your hopes too high about the possibility for financial support. We have people on our staff who already have insights about the kind of work you propose, and we also have very little external research money to spend in these austere times.

Having said this, let me add that if you come to Washington I will arrange for you to meet some people who could more professionally evaluate your proposal. If this idea has appeal to you, please give me ample notice of your plans.

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| Director Central Intel Washington, I | ligence Agency . C. 20505 |
| Dear sir: | |
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| of Eastern En which accompa Fellowship, w grants are ve | research proposal for an in-depth study of the pres rope. This proposal and the supplementary statement my it are part of an application for a Guggenheim hich I sent in earlier this week. The Guggenheim ry competitive, and nine applications are rejected accepted and funded. A decision will be made in |
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Research Plan

I propose to study the media of mass communications in Eastern Europe--the Warsaw Pact nations, plus Yugoslavia, and, if possible, Albania.

There is a commonality among the media systems in these countries, reflecting--in theory at least--single point of view as to what the press should be and do as collective organizer, agitator, director. This has been well described by Wilbur Schramm, "The Soviet Communist Theory of the Press" (Siebert, Schramm, and Peterson, Four Theories of the Press, Illinois, 1956). Professor Schramm's essay, though brilliant, is now nearly twenty years old and obviously much has happened since those Cold War days of the mid-Fifties; television has evolved in such a way as to rewrite the role of the print media--even in Eastern Europe --and detente provides a new backdrop for studying the political and social objectives of the Soviet Bloc press.

Recent months and years have seen a redefinition of relationships within the satellite nations vis-a-vis the Soviet Union. Czechoslovakia's situation differs from that of Poland, and both are far different from Romania. Yugoslavia has a separate set of problems as it looks toward a future without Tito. What will be the role of the Yugoslav press in attempting to unite an otherwise suspicious and divided nation?

I want to explore the mass media in each country, carefully and in depth, with a view toward capturing the personality, the objectives, the techniques, and the effectiveness of each. Such a study would involve numerous personal interviews with journalists, government officials, intellectuals, and private citizens in each nation concerned—this along with intensive reading and research.

Logistically, this would involve moving my family for a year to Berlin or Vienna (where there are good libraries and my two children can attend an American school). From there, then, I would carefully arrange a number of trips into Eastern Europe to provide the comprehensive interviews and first-hand observation such a study would surely require.

There are a number of models for this kind of analysis, ranging from William A. Hachten's critically acclaimed Muffled Drums: The Press of Africa (Iowa State Press, 1972), to the <u>Inside</u> books of the late John Gunther. Indeed, I would attempt to combine Hachten's careful scholarship with Gunther's probing interview technique and his perceptive insights as a first-class journalist.

The result should be a reliable, absorbing examination of the all-important press systems in an area of the world which has been largely neglected by journalism scholars.

This is a study I very much want to do and am prepared to do. I am known and respected among journalism professors, and have foreign travel experience. For six years, while on the faculty University, I worked with the State Department's Foreign Journalist Project, and in that position developed a number of contacts with journalists throughout the world-including several in Warsaw Pact nations. My publishing record-though it has suffered in recent years by my work with university administration--nevertheless indicates a capacity to complete a long and involved research task--as this one obviously would be.

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